

*Erinacidae**Insectivores*

136
824 *insi* (Arabic *ṣarfūṣ*), the hedgehog, found throughout the region. This animal makes itself useful by killing snakes. It is said that formerly the Riffians ate the hedgehog, but that once a woman of the Beni Amart, going out reaping, left her two babies in a brush shelter which she had constructed at the edge of the field. When she returned to them she found a cobra arching up in front of them, and a little hedgehog spitting at the cobra and keeping it at bay. In recognition of this favor the Riffians refrain from killing the hedgehog. This tradition may be recent, since the episode is supposed to have happened less than a generation ago. The *insi* belongs to the genus *Erinaceus*; the exact species is doubtful since, according to Flower and Lydekker,¹ there are about twenty different ones. Hanoteau and Letourneau² identify the animal bearing the same name in Algeria as *Erinaceus* (= *Aethichinus*) *algius*.

*Viverridae**Carnivora*

136 *thawartha*, a large mongoose greater in size than the *mush abaran*. It kills snakes, is variegated in color, and has bristly hair and a long tail. It is found throughout the region, except in the more arid portions to the east. Hanoteau and Letourneau do not mention this animal as existing in Kabylia. Dr. Allen suggests that it may be *Herpestes ichneumon*,³ which was sacred to the Egyptians.

sibib (Arabic *zerdi*), a small species of mongoose. Hanoteau and Letourneau⁴ identify an animal of the same name as *Mungusta numidica*. Dr. Allen thinks that the *sibib* may be a *Calogale*.

igith may be the *Genetta africana* mentioned by Hanoteau and Letourneau,⁵ or the *Genetta vulgaris* of Flower and Lydekker.⁶

Mustelidae

nims (Arabic *nims*), a weasel or polecat, found throughout the region where any forest or moisture remains. Hanoteau and Letourneau⁷ call the *nims* of Kabylia a polecat, giving it the name *Putoris bocamela*. Yet the Berber name which they give it, *thader'ar'ais*, in Thamasighth means "mongoose," being another word for *thawartha*. Dr. Allen suggests that the *nims* may be *Mustela africana*.⁸

akazin w aman, or *ar w aman* (Arabic *kelb el ma*), the otter, found wherever there are streams and irrigation ditches. The animal causes constant annoyance by making holes in the ditches and uprooting gardens, as well as by stealing poultry. The animal of the same name and description in Kabylia is called by Hanoteau and Letourneau *Lutra vulgaris*.^{9,10}

Pelidae

bu haru, anciently *izim* (Arabic *seba*, *asad*), the lion. Lions, which were common in the Rif in the seventeenth century¹¹ and were killed at intervals up to forty years ago,¹² are now believed to be extinct or nearly so. It is popularly believed by the natives of Gzennaya

¹ Page 620.² Page 144.³ Flower and Lydekker, pp. 535-536.⁴ Page 142.⁵ Page 528.⁶ Page 143.⁷ Flower and Lydekker, pp. 589-590.⁸ Sieur Roland Frejus, *Relation of a Voyage into Mauretania*, p. 28.⁹ Otto C. Arthauer, *Riffpiraten und Ihre Heimat*, p. 154.

MATERIAL CULTURE

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285 Hamara of the Gzennaya; Bokoya; Ijaonen of Beni Amart; Beni Hadifa and Ajdir of Beni
 445 Urriaghel; Sidi Bu Daud of Temaaman; the Metalsa dwelling near Beni Mohammed, Beni
 Ulishk, Tafersit, all the Senhaja and Ghomara, Beni Mesduy, Targuist, and the western
 Maritime tribes.

[314] *Wickerwork*, the third type, is called *asarow n ughanim*. Oleander switches and reeds are used, the oleander for the uprights, or warp, and the split reeds woven in and out between them. Baskets made of this material are often of great size, four to five feet in diameter and six feet in height. They are used for the transportation of grapes, figs, almonds, walnuts, and the like, and for the storage of raisins, dried figs, and dried apricots. (See plate 24.) They are to be found in Iherrassen, Ikhuane, Ulad Alu ben Aissa, Ikaroen, Temjunt, Bured, all of Gzennaya, Mountain Urriaghel, Taghzuth n Tassa and Tizera n Imziwen of Beni Tuzin, Beni Amart, Bu Adl, Beni Koraa, and Ain Mediuna of the Eastern Arabophone Senhaja, and Beni Bu Shibet.

TEXTILES

286 Textiles made in the Rif are confined to woolen cloths, all cotton and what little silk
 [439] there is being imported.

283 The first process in textile manufacture is washing the wool in a stream with the boiled
 [284] roots of the plant known as *thaghigheshth*. The wool is hung up in the rafters of the house until dry, and is then carded. In the old days, cards of local manufacture, called *ikarthashen*, were employed, but today the cards used throughout the Rif are imported from Sheshawen and are of European type. The indigenous type consists of a long wooden handle about two feet in length, with a flat piece of cow's horn attached to one end. Into the horn are set two parallel rows of spikes, either wooden or brass, about the length of a human finger. The rows are set at right angles to the axis of the handle, and the spikes project from the handle at a right angle. These cards were kept in pairs, and when not in use were pushed up into the rafters, where, in old houses, a few of them may still be found.

Spinning, the next process after carding, is done in two ways:

1. The thread is suspended from a distaff, on which the rove is wound, and attached to a spindlewhorl held just off the ground. Thread spun in this way is used for warp and is called *asarau*.

2. The rove is spun on the thigh and gathered into a pot below. This thread is used for weft and is called *amakin*.

286 Weaving, the final process of textile manufacture, is done on two entirely different kinds of loom under different circumstances. The more primitive is the *azla*, an upright two-bar loom with a stick heddle and a wooden comb for battening the warp. The operation of the *azla* is entirely in the hands of women. A girl who does not know how to weave on the *azla* has a poor chance of marriage, and consequently girls learn this art at an early age. Parties are held for the teaching of it; a girl who is not expert invites a number of skilled weavers, who go to her house, eat, and instruct her. The cloth produced by the *azla* is called *tadsha* and is used for women's clothes, men's sleeveless shirts worn in winter, and blankets. It is generally white, sometimes with red horizontal bands or stripes. The *azla* is employed throughout the region under consideration, except in the tribes of Beni Bu Yahyi and Metalsa.

789 [95] He who hears something bad may also neutralise the evil influence by wetting his finger in the mouth and then closing his ear with it (Aglu, Igliwa); among the Ait Waryager he puts the little finger of the right hand into the left ear. Again, if a person hears something good he damps his finger—among the Ait Waryager the forefinger of the right hand—with spittle and then puts it into his right ear (Amzmiz).

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776 [97] The noblest of all animals is the horse, and there is much
778 baraka in it; it is of high blood (d-demmm l-kbir); it is like a shereef. It gives blessing to its owner and his house. He who owns a horse has other animals as well, and corn and money and anything he wants; l-hail u l-hair wahed, "horses and prosperity are one" (Ulad Bu'aziz). To have a horse is as meritorious as to entertain forty scribes in the mosque (Ait Waryager). The sayatin, or evil spirits, avoid a place where there is a horse (Tangier, Ait Waryager). When it neighs it puts them to flight (Hiaina) or breaks the heads of forty evil spirits (Ait Waryager); it says, L-haer liya u l sidi, "Prosperity for myself and for my master" (Hiaina).

[103] Contrary to all other dogs, which are regarded as unclean, a greyhound, which is used in hunting, is considered to be possessed of baraka. A house to which a greyhound belongs is never haunted by jnun (Tangier, Ait Waryager).

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778 [105] As certain animal species so also certain species of the [106]
241 vegetable kingdom are possessed of baraka. This is above all the case with corn, especially wheat and barley, and anything made of corn, such as bread and seksu. The profession of the faith is written on every grain (Ait Waryager). It is the baraka of the corn that has given rise to most of the rites connected with agriculture, and of these many more are found in connection with the growing of wheat and barley than with that of other cereals, pulse, and vegetables; though the vegetable garden is also treated as a holy place.

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778 Fruit-bearing date-palms are holy. This is probably an old Berber idea, since the date-palm (Arab. nahla; Berb. ainiu or tainiut [Igliwa], tini [Temsaman]) has been known to the Berbers from very ancient period; but it was also a sacred tree in ancient Arabia. Another holy tree, like - [107] wise held sacred in the East, is the olive (Arab. s-sejara de z-zeit un; Berb. tazzitunt [Igliwa], zzeitun [Temsaman]), which seems to have been already cultivated in Northern Africa in prehistoric times. It is said that it has one of the names

824 of God or some other holy word written on every leaf; and the baraka
 778 of its oil (Arab. zit; Berb. zzit [Igliwa], zzest [Temsaman]) may be
 [842] so strong as to make the oil increase by itself and even become dan-
 [843] gerous. It is drunk by men in order to enhance their procreative power
 (Ait Waryager), and pregnant women eat olives so that the child shall
 be good-looking (Tangier).

[109] Baraka is ascribed to the oleander, especially to the so-
 called "sultan of the oleanders" or "sultan of the oleander".

824 In various tribes it is the custom for scribes to write some words
 755 from the Koran or leaves of a "sultan of the oleander" (Tsul,
 778 Temsaman, Ait Waryager), or even of an ordinary bush of the same
 species (Ait Sadden) for sick people, who burn the leaves, let the
 smoke pass underneath their clothes, and inhale it.

[110] At Midsummer and asura there is miraculous virtue in a large
 number of vegetable species, and some of them have magic or
 medicinal qualities on other occasions as well. In the Hiaina sengdura
 (Lavandula stoechas or Teucrium Chamœpitys; also called sengdura,
sengura, and, in the Berber of the Ait Yusi, tof ttarba) which has been
 gathered in the morning before the sun has risen and the hoopoe has
 made itself heard, especially on New Year's day, is said to contain
 one hundred and one medicines; it is taken internally by persons
 suffering from dysury, it is applied externally to the head in the case
 of a headache, and it is given in milk to dogs troubled with a cold or,
 [231] on the 17th of May (mut l-ard), to savage dogs to make them tame.

A Rifian from the Ait Waryager said that it contains seventy medicines,
 [842] and that it is used by women as a remedy for barrenness; it is dried in
 the sun, pounded, and mixed with honey, and then taken in the
 morning on an empty stomach.

[841] [111] Charcoal made of lentisk (Pistacia lentiscus; Arab. dro;
 Berb. fadis [Temsaman] or fadis [Ait Waryager]) is eaten by women
 suffering from irregular appearance of blood.

778 [112] The Ait Waryager use the fresh leaf of a palmetto (digazdand)
 824 as a means of getting back a stolen horse, mule, donkey, ox, or cow.
 696 Some scribes recite over it something from the [113] Koran, knot
 seven of its tips, and make fatha, after which they give the leaf to
 the owner of the animal. He ties it to the peg in the yard to which
 the animal used to be tethered; and this will have the effect that the
 thief will be unable to sell the animal. A friend of his will then go

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778 to its owner and propose to bring it back to him if he pays a small
824 sum for it; and he will of course accept the proposal. Some other rites
in which palmetto leaves are used will be mentioned below.

824 There is also baraka in walnut root or bark (swak), with which
302 women paint their lips and teeth brownish, as in antimony (Arab.
khul; Berb. tazult [Ait Warain], tazult [Ait Sadden], dazurt [Ait
Waryager], tazuts [Temsaman]), with which they paint their eyes
black. These practices, as well as the use of henna, have presumably
[171] come from the East.

778 [114] As there is baraka in many animals and trees and plants,
823 there is also baraka in the ground (Arab. ard; Berb. akal [Agliwa],
tamazirt [Ait Sadden], tamort [Ait Warain], damort [Ait Waryager],
tamoa [Temsaman]), which gives corn and fruit to man and grass to
animals. It is said in the Koran that God placed on the earth the firm
mountains which tower above it and blessed it, and "apportioned there-
in its food in four days alike for those who ask". Nay, he created man
himself from earth; hence to beat the ground is to beat one's own
mother. If you do so, it will call for your mother and father, wanting
them to die—it will cry out, Ara ummak ara buk; or it will punish
you by pressing you in your grave. You should also avoid stamping on
the ground, you should walk quietly (Andjra). Anybody who pours hot
[176] water on the ground is liable to be hurt by the mwalin l-ard, "the
masters of the ground", that is, the jnun living in it; and he who burns
earth—for making lime or bricks or tiles or earthenware—will never
succeed in making money. On the other hand, the ground gives
blessing to him who sits on it; there is rahma, "mercy", in it. The
[173] earth rests on a horn of a bull, the bull stands on a fish, and the fish
is in the water; and it is also said that the water is on the wind and the
wind on the empty space and the empty space on something which is
only known to God. An earthquake (zenzla) is caused by the bull
changing his burden from one horn to another. These beliefs have been
imported from the East; the story of a bull supporting the earth and
causing earthquakes seems to be spread all over the Moslem world,
though there are many different versions of it.

[115] Among the mineral products of the earth there are many
which are supposed to possess miraculous power, and some of them are
directly said to have baraka.

770 [131] Berber-speaking people say that the fire in the fire-place is
 372 blessed (Aglu), that it is praying to God for food (Demnat), and that
 if it goes out there will not be much food to cook (Aglu, Demnat) or
 the baraka will leave the house (Ait Waryager).

[155] [132] The Ait Waryager do not extinguish the fire or let it go out
 unless they leave the house for a time. Fire is used for curative pur-
 poses, and so are ashes.

823 [138] Many other acts, besides prayer, are performed in the direc-
 778 tion of Mecca on account of its baraka, for example, the slaughter of
 an animal.

[833] A child begotten by a man who has sexual intercourse in such a
 position will be blessed (Ait Waryager) or have a face "shining like
 the sun and the moon" (Andjra).

801 [142] The number seven figures very prominently in the theology,
 772 as well as in the ritual, of Islam—there are seven heavens, seven
 earths, seven seas, seven divisions of hell with seven gates, seven
 days, and so forth; indeed, so frequent is the use of this number that
 a whole book in Arabic is written on it. Groups of seven saints buried
 at [143] the same spot (seb at u rijal) are found in many places in
 Morocco. But there is also the saying, seb a s aiba, "seven is diffi-
 cult". It would be unlucky for the buyer of a thing to pay for it
 seven muzunat or seven blain or seven dollars exactly (Andjra,
 Hiaina, Ait Waryager; but not in Fez), and sometimes the number
 seventy is also avoided in similar circumstances (Hiaina).

373 [161] Strange phenomena of light are often connected with dead
 saints.

● 824 [162] In the Rif also there are trees connected with saints which
 778 are seen shining at night, for example, a fig tree growing at Sidi
 Ahmed Marrui's shrine in the district of the Ait Waryager; my infor-
 mant had seen it himself.

776 [163] The miracle-working capacity of dead saints, however wide
 its scope may be, is often to some extent specialised.

778 [164] Among the Ait Waryager a person who wants to learn to
 [534] play the flute (dasebbabt) visits the shrine of Sidi Esa, kills a cock
 or a hen, and spends a night there playing on his flute; and a week
 and a fortnight after he again visits the shrine.

776 [174] Many saints have their special days for receiving petitioners.
 796 To take a few instances:—

Sidi Buhaiyar among the Ait Waryager on Thursdays and Fridays.

825 remove the tent on the following morning, because then they know that the snake is the master of the place and does not want them to remain there. The Shloh of Aglu call a snake found in their granary bab Imakan, the Rifians of the Ait Waryager bab umhan, both expressions being equivalent to the Arabic mul le-mkan.

[349] Among the Ait Waryager a snake which is seen on the rafters is driven away by shooting or by the burning of the horn of a goat, the smoke of which is supposed to put it to flight.

[787] [353] If you see a snake in the morning you will succeed in your business—Sabbah 'al l-haiya hajt u maqdiya (Hiaina; Tangier, Andjra, Ait Waryager, Temsaman, Ait Sadden, Ait Nder, Igliwa).

825 [354] There are families that, when a child is born, have to procure from some shereef belonging to the so-called surfa [355] 852 t- T eida (among the Bni'Aros), of Mulai 'Abdsslam's family, a live scorpion, which then, enclosed in a piece of bamboo, is hung round the neck of the infant, because otherwise he would become ill or die; it is left on the child until he is able to walk and begins to speak, after which it is deposited at a shrine (Tangier). The Ait Waryager hang a live scorpion enclosed in a piece of bamboo round the neck of a sick child.

825 In other tribes also the scorpion is killed and rubbed on the wound caused by it (Ait Sadden, Ait Warain, Temsaman); and in Andjra

[752] [356] the wound is then cauterised with the end of a bamboo which has been set alight. The Ait Waryager apply to the wound a hot compress of bran of wheat soaked in water.

[854] [357] Pounded red ants mixed with milk are given to little children when they cry at night (Tangier), and a child who is in the habit of making water in bed is made to eat a little earth from an ant-hill and then to urinate on the hill (Ait Waryager).

[787] [359] Among the Ait Waryager a moth (dabassart) fluttering about a light is considered a good omen if it is white or red, but the reverse if it is black; in any case, however, the person who sees it would say, "If you bring with you good leave it here, if you bring with you evil take it away with you".

[361] An animal should not be killed unless it is either harmful or allowed to be eaten or otherwise useful to man or killed in hunting.

262 [362] When eggs are to be used as food it is in Morocco the custom 264 for the person who breaks them to say, "In the name of God", or,

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411 of these, and any Rifian worthy of his salt can knock down a partridge in full flight with noteworthy dexterity, and at a distance of fifteen to twenty-five meters.

● (824) The sticks which they use are usually of wild olive wood, in the form of shepherds' crooks, backed by a few turns of copper wiring at each end and the upper third; and this at the same time increases resistance to breakage, facilitates throwing by its greater accuracy.... The net result is that the Rifian is as dangerous, or even more so, to game animals or birds than is the average European hunter with a double-barreled shotgun.

224 At the hour agreed upon, when every participant is provided with his corresponding weapon or dog, they all leave their houses and go toward the hunting site, crying "Haw-haw! Haw-haw!", which is the signal of hunting and reunion.

E) Ownership of Game Caught:¹⁸⁸

Ownership of game which is caught follows certain rules which are based on a general principle attributing the game first to whoever discovers it; second, to whoever kills it; and finally, to whoever collects it. In different (or individual) cases, disputes may take place, and these and the way they are resolved will be discussed (578) further on. The principal elements of judgment are the range of vision (411) of the hunters, and the range of accuracy of the weapons, some fourteen stick-lengths, or forty feet in a stone's throw.

671 The customary law of Rifian society minutely anticipates how
224 many cases may arise, and as, furthermore, it is inspired by reality,
692 it is simple and useful, requiring of the judges, first, competence,

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style is preferred by the Sanhajans also. The Jbalans place turbans farther back on the head, and often use colored cloth. Boys, everywhere in Morocco, wear a crocheted skullcap (*tagiya*) (fig. 3, c).

The most important undergarment is a pair of baggy cotton trousers (*serwal*) that reach to a little below the knees (fig. 3, c). The second undergarment, a high-necked shirt, is now being replaced by European shirts. It is always possible to find European apparel, especially parts of French and Spanish uniforms. In rural areas the transition has been from draped clothing of homespun wool to tailored garments, and then to European trousers, shirts, and jackets. European clothing is not always conspicuous, for the jillaba covers most of the body and is seldom removed.

Footgear was once a good index of tribal affiliation. Many Rifians still wear toe-strap sandals of palmetto fiber (*Chamaerops humilis*) or cross-strap sandals of alfa grass (*Stipa tenacissima*). A generation ago, Rifians also made clogs and stilts for use during the rainy season. When traditional footgear is given up, the change is usually to canvas sneakers or leather shoes, both imported from Europe (fig. 3, a, d). The leather slippers (*bilga*) now common in Jbala and Ghmara are not yet fully accepted in the Rif. The one advantage of this type of shoe is that it can be shed quickly at doorways. In Sanhaja as-Srair, buskins made of cloth wrapping, with cowhide or goatskin soles, are worn as galoshes.

Such apparel is usually worn without decoration or embellishment. Canes are popular, especially among older men, and occasionally an umbrella may be seen, but the powder horns, daggers, and leather bags, once indicative of a well-dressed man, are no longer worn. Powder horns disappeared with the introduction of cartridges and the extermination of the aoudad, or wild mountain sheep (*Ammotragus lervia*). The old-style scrip, with shoulder strap, was used to store powder, lead balls, and emergency rations. It was decorated with silk embroidery or inlaid with colored leather, and had long fringes and tassels. A generation ago, bags of this sort were a reliable indication of tribal affiliation. Today they are made only by craftsmen of Taghzut, who also produce handbags, watchbands, belts, and wallets for the tourist trade.

Like men's clothing, women's clothes were once made entirely of wool. The principal garment was a long strip of woolen cloth, wrapped around the body and fastened by a belt and pins or clasps. When cotton was introduced, women's garments lost their simple form and became tailored. The result was a different and more decorative costume. Jbalan and Ghmaran women dress very much alike, but with different color combinations. The women of Ghmara and Sanhaja as-Srair wear skirts of plain white; the Jbalan women prefer red and white stripes (fig. 3, e and f). Ghmaran and Sanhajan women wear leggings of cotton cloth bound with threads of goat hair, while the Jbalan women wear leggings of leather. The Jbalan women, particularly on market and festival days, wear huge and highly decorated straw hats (fig. 3, e). Countrywomen never wear veils; when modesty is required they can cover their faces with shawls or head towels. A distinctive feature of woman's dress in Ghmara and Sanhaja as-Srair is a width of cotton cloth, wound about the neck and waist, by means of which an infant can be carried, or food and other objects (fig. 3, f).

Environment

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Palmetto is exploited for its edible bud, and the old women who sell *ghaz* (palm cabbage) are a common sight in the streets of Tetuán and Tangier. During the summer, when cereal stocks are low, many families spend some time digging up palmetto.

Palmetto is exploited also for its fiber, used in the manufacture of *crin végétal*. The collecting is done by women, who deposit bundles of palm blades near scales set out along most of the roads. The fiber is dried in the sun, and then twisted into loose rope and baled for marketing. The finished product serves as a substitute for horsehair in upholstering. In 1955, exporters in the northern zone handled 12,622 tons of fiber.⁸²⁴ Native craftsmen make hats, mats, and baskets of the same material. 283

Disturbance of this sort encourages lateral development rather than tall growth from a single stock, but seldom results in destruction of the plant.¹³⁷ The resiliency of palmetto is attested by its persistence in cultivated fields. The native farmer has no means of eradicating the deep roots of this plant. Fields are burned and then cleared with hoes and cutting tools. This practice eliminates most shrubs, but it does not destroy palmetto. On the contrary, this plant, as a deep-rooting and heliophilous species, profits from the removal of competitive growth. When fields lie fallow or are abandoned, dwarf palm promptly begins to colonize.^[247] In relatively undisturbed formations the palmetto is of secondary importance. It is not conspicuous, for example, in mature stands of cork oak. On sacred sites palmetto is usually found on the edges of the protected growth. Where shrub vegetation is especially dense, as it is along the Mediterranean coast from Wad Lao to Puerto Capaz, dwarf palm grows on sunny south-facing slopes and on the upper edges of stream channels. Pure stands of palmetto seem to indicate floristic and morphologic impoverishment, a reduction of vegetation to its most resistant element. [778]

Pistacia lentiscus (Arabic *dro*) is the second most important element of palmetto scrub. As with dwarf palm, it may be doubted that this plant should be described as a shrub. *Dro* usually appears as a shrub about one meter high, but where soils are deep and plants protected, it may grow three to five meters high. Such trees are rare today. With the exception of a few specimens scattered in the Anjra hills northeast of Tetuán, I have seen tall pistacias only on sacred sites and in a few areas protected by fences. In one form or the other this plant is encountered as an element of maqui in most of the Mediterranean region. It is found almost everywhere in Morocco; only in areas of extreme aridity and in the mountains above 1,500 meters is it absent. *Dro* is mixed with *Zizyphus lotus* in the Nkour

⁸²⁴ Marruecos, *sona jafisana: guía económica* (Tetuán: Delegación de Economía, 1955), p. 59.

¹³⁷ The ability of the palmetto to survive disturbance is recognized by Theophrastus (*Enquiry into Plants* . . . II, 6): "The dwarf-palm is a distinct kind, having nothing but its name in common with the other palms. For if its head is removed, it survives, and, if it is cut down, it shoots again from the roots." Louis Emberger concludes, in *Les Arbres du Maroc et comment les reconnaître* (Paris: Larose, 1938), p. 76: "Cette forme naine est déterminée par l'action continuelle des troupeaux, qui broutent les jeunes pousses, et de l'homme qui exploite le Palmier nain pour en faire des cordages et consommer le cœur." M. Rikli, "Marokko," *Vegetationsbilder*, 24, Heft 4/5 (1934), concurs in this judgment, and adds that the prevalent form of the palmetto "als fuss- bis kniehohes Hartlaubgestrüpp ist sekundär, durch anthro- und zoogene Einwirkung entstanden."

¹³⁹ According to Louis Emberger, *Aperçu général sur la végétation du Maroc* (Bern: Hans Huber, 1939), p. 150, "son expansion est le résultat de la destruction des forêts dans lesquelles il était un élément floristique constant." G. Kuhnholz-Lordat, *La Terre incendiée: essai d'agronomie comparée* (Nîmes: Editions de la Maison Carrée, 1939), p. 44, coins a new verb, *endoumer*, the process by which forests degenerate to thickets of *doum*.

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226 more important at that time than it is today. In chapter vii evidence will be pre-
191 sented to show that the same coastal area was once an important center of ship-
building.

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[226] Fresh-water fishing seems to be restricted to a few streams in the mountains
[824] of Ghmara and Sanhaja as-Srair. The Sanhajans make use of the toxic roots of
[191] *Daphne Gnidium* (Arabic *ma'nān*) to stun fish, a practice that has been observed
also in Sardinia, Portugal, and Spain."

UTILIZATION OF WILD PLANTS

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757 The average Moroccan woman can identify at least a hundred plants, and many
824 are thought to have medicinal or magical qualities. To cure an ear infection, the
191 ear is plugged with a mixture of butter and the ground leaves of *Ruta Montana*.
The cure for a cold is to induce sweating by drinking milk or tea heavily seasoned
with *Mentha pulegium*. A wound is cleaned with the leaves of *Inula viscosa*, and
the leaves of other plants are worn under headgear to cure or prevent headaches,
or in slippers to reduce fatigue. The number of similar ideas is limitless.

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222 Many wild plants have food value, and are collected even when regular har-
262 vests are bountiful. The list of such foods includes the seeds of several species of
191 *Cistus* (*C. albidus*, *C. laurifolius*, *C. ladaniferus*), the sweet acorn of *Quercus Ilex*,
[139] the fruit of *Arbutus Unedo*, the roots of *Halimium lasiocalycinum*, and the berries
of *Rubus ulmifolius* and *Crataegus laciniata*. Moroccans eat the bud of the palmetto.
Acorns and *Cistus* seeds seem to be the most important famine foods.

MARKETS

R
484 It would be a mistake to conclude that rural communities in northern Morocco
191 live in complete isolation. Moroccans are fond of travel, and the men, at least,
have some time to satisfy their wanderlust each year. There are few men, even
in the remote highlands, who have not visited at least one city. But when a Rifian
or Sanhajan sets out for Fez or Tetuán he is likely to be more interested in sight-
seeing than in shopping. He may bring back a new cloak for himself or a piece
of costume jewelry for his wife, but more often returns only with accounts of
strange sights and tales of adventure.

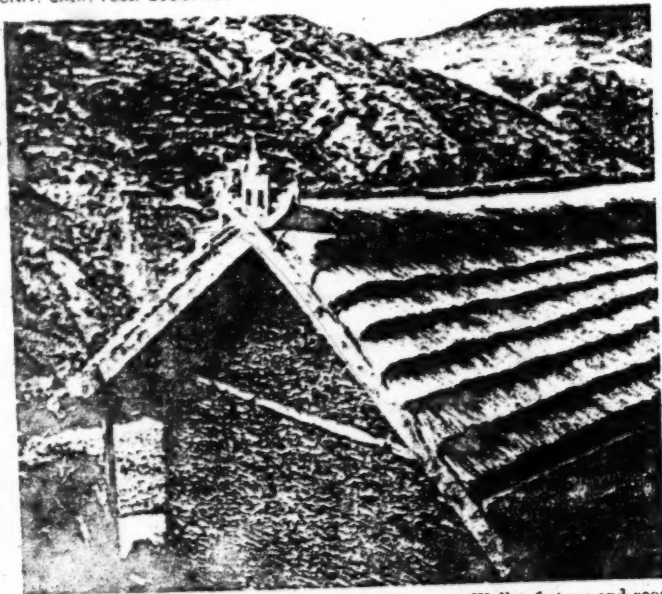
R
438 A rudimentary system of trade does exist. A few manufactured articles are
439 found in most homes, and some communities produce marketable goods. For ex-
191 ample, the village of Mediuna, just south of Cape Spartel, is engaged in quarry-
ing millstones from the Caves of Hercules." Here they find a gritty conglomerate
that is ideal for milling. The *m'allimin* (masters) who hew out these stones trans-
port them on muleback to Tangier, whence they are traded throughout northern
Morocco. Rifian women spend some time making pottery. During the idle months
of winter, after the cereals have been harvested, Rifian men work on mats and
baskets. Leatherwork is done at Taghzut, and winnowing forks are made at
Ktama. Yet none of these activities seriously disturb the subsistence orientation
of rural life. Specialization of this sort supplements but never supplants agri-
culture. The abiding concern of all tribesmen is with their fields.

(13)

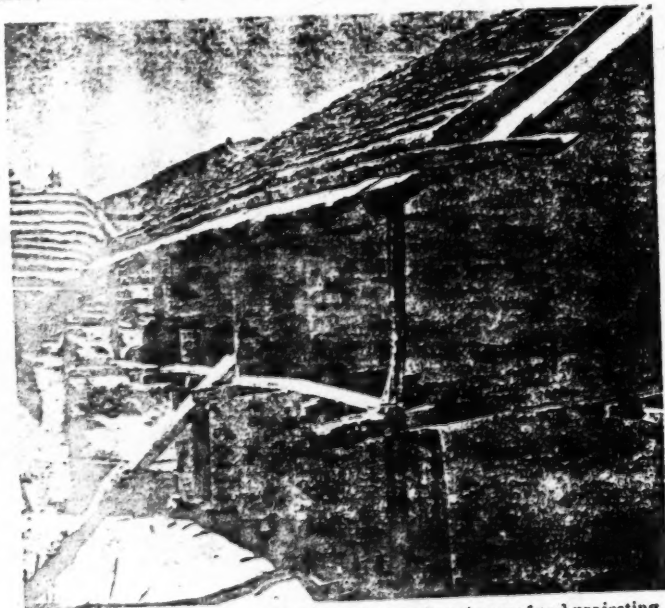
"R. F. Heizer, "Aboriginal Fish Poisons," *Smithsonian Inst. Anthro. Papers*, 38 (1953), 263.
"C. S. Coon, *The Seven Caves: Archaeological Explorations in the Middle East* (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1957), p. 45; E. Cecil Curwen, "Tangier Quern-Quarry," *Antiquity*, 119 (Sep-
tember, 1956), 174 and plate vii.

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MIKESELL PLATE 3



a. A house in the valley of Abd al Ghaya (Ktama). Walls of stone and roof of rye thatch. Ornamental figure represents crescent moon, a symbol of good luck; brazier and teapot are symbols of hospitality.



b. A typical two-story house in Ktama, with overhanging roof and projecting rafters. Lower floor serves as living quarters, upper for storage.